[P. 216] Tachi

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
● 616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[45] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
[439] coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa'lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[45] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[45]Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor N.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me (Gifford): "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[45]Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 [249] Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

[757] Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly described several familiar games.

616 The hand game (wehala´nw:ca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´:š) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 616 Shinny (ko´nw:č) was played only after a mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

526 The pole and stick game (aiki´wič) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was 616 played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

[164] The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wič) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telwey·t and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[165] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wič as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´´iwan) or another straight willow (sala´´am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´´al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms
221 which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

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[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wep:s, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomep:s (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Telwey:t.

624 The official messenger (wina´tem) had
202 much the same duties as in the foothills. Both chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatem and a´ñutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ici) might also be a messenger's totem.

● [616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

[293] A chief's messenger, when going on an official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,80.

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]
[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´·i, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile´t·ts, a
786 term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem, just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hilet·ts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hilet·s should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´w·ts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
[787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The
622 title of the chief is diya. A male chief is described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquín Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter
622 succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiwis), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nomi-
[554] nated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously ac-
[776] knowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[61] This was about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[61] Powers, 371.

616 totemic animals. The words tokelyuwič and nutuwič she aligned with west and east respectively, and the head of each as Crow and Coyote, respectively.

Further categorizing was as follows.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ʻnkas:	crow
ho ʻtoi:	raven
lɨ ʻmɨk:	falcon
upye ʻʻi:	mourning dove
hi ʻtyi:	raccoon
te ʻpɨk:	seal[62]
poho ʻʻot:	weasel
po ʻhiyon:	Cooper's hawk
šo ʻʻšo ʻ:	"chicken" hawk[63]
Nutuwich, east	
kai ʻyu:	coyote
ulo ʻʻi:	black bear
soi ʻyol:	antelope
ma ʻčwi:	elk

A member of one moiety "respected" all the totemic animals of his moiety, but had one animal as his lineage totem. Members of the same moiety should not marry. Persons with the same lineage totem could not marry, nor could cross or parallel cousins. Moiety members called each other merely "friend."[64]

In playing games and in mourning ceremonies, moiety members were reciprocally opposed. In the doctors' contest, which was a feature of the mourning ceremony, there was no moiety opposition, but there was tribal opposition. Sometimes there were doctors from different tribes on one side, but no men of the same tribe would be opposed. Doctors on the same side might be relatives or "just friends."

With respect to moiety manifestations in other tribes, M.G. had rather definite ideas. The Hoshima (northerners) called people of the same moiety cousin, i.e., literally sibling. The Choinuk and Chunut had the same divisions as the Tachi. The Wowol had, too, she believed, but it was not customary for a Tachi to ask a Wowol what his "pet" (totem) was. She was uncertain whether the Gawia and Yokod had moieties.

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[62] M.G. twice gave tepɨk as seal, her interpreter adding "just like you see in the circus." Kroeber gives tōpūk as beaver (The Yokuts Language, 242), as does Gifford (ndebig). J.A. agreed with M.G., also giving tepɨk as seal. I think we may be sure that the animal M.G. meant was seal, regardless of the correctness of the name she used. Pages states that "seals and otters occur as far as one hundred and fifty leagues upstream in the Rio de San Francisco" [San Joaquin River and its sloughs](Pages, A Historical, Political and Natural Description of California, 77).

[63] This is probably osprey, as given by Gifford. M.G. could only say of the bird that "he went up to a little pool in the mountains and got fish there."

[64] For the Tachi kinship system see Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, 81-82.

616 622 A village was not necessarily ruled by two chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyit, might have three. At Telweyit there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

[776 787] Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

● 616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tutic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikca), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˈnkas:	crow
su ˈhup:	hawk
lːmːkˈ:	prairie falcon
o ˈčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ˈhwimus:	swan
tsu·tokte ˈklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyot ˈwat:	frog (small)
oːo ˈyːts:	frog (large)
ma ˈčwːs:	elk
yːtsa ˈhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai ˈyu:	coyote
weṭi ˈṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu ˈlu:	"hoot" owl
tokla ˈli:	"screech" owl
poho ˈːot [sic]:	weasel
poho ˈːot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu ˈnul:	wildcat
a ˈdza:	fox

[773] [262]

[67] Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68] Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69] All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides (moieties)"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's (dream) helper and could easily be on both sides."

[70] Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

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tepːk:[72]	seal
nahaˀˀat:	otter
kːyo ˀkːut:	badger
hoi:	deer
čiˀu:	cottontail rabbit
tsaˀpal:	jack rabbit
mamːl:	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Hutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyon)[72]; pelican (hahal); bat (tcːmtcːm)[73]; rattlesnake (taˀmhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (šakaka); Steller jay (ṭikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (waˀtswats, duck; uˀluiˀlum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman eral (yːtswahats), and the other (laˀptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (tohːl) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. [182] The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. [613] Since lineage was the fundamental regulator of marriage (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

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[72]These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.G. also insisted tepːk was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[73]He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73]Bat was a dream helper.

[74]This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

[P. 299]

616 distantly related called each other yoko ´čn:m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči ´n:m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a ´tin:m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma ´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 Redemption of totem animal.--- The rite of
796 making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa ´lun:ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took
[231 184] it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the
[779] coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 [756] If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[75] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

756 then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

616 Moiety affiliations do not limit the walaṭ talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's
756 hawk (pohiyon) can be dreamt of by anybody. So could the ground owl (wetiṭi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belonged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

756 Those persons who did not want to possess ṭ'pni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

756 One night a white spider (kolok' ʻlwoi metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came
787 back to her. The spider said, "you are going to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na ṭ'pni (I am not ṭ'pni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na hsuto ʻho
not I prostitute, [to go around]

om na lowai ʻtna
not I male sexual partner

hina ʻ na na ʻas toṭi
happy I, I not bad

om na ʻas heho ʻma topo ʻlṭi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

756 especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped and roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.[91]

A man became a Bear doctor by the same methods -- bathing, fasting, dreaming -- by which one acquired t:pni power for other purposes, according to Kroeber's anecdote.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.[92]

J.A. was told of a Bear shaman by Juana, her Tachi "aunt" (mother's cousin).

A man was called Piwa´sa, a name referring to his Bear shamanism, although his real name was Aho´ni. He had bear's hair on his chest. When the blackberries were ripe he would turn into a bear and go to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear." He had a knife and killed anyone who came to kill him. When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear; he told Bear that he was his friend; Bear became his dream helper (pu´us). All bears are classed as Hutuwich but this does not mean that the man belonged to that moiety.

● [616]

Gifford reports on a Tachi shaman:

In the genealogical information obtained, but two shamans are mentioned. Halhalis is the older. He was a Hutuwuts man of the coyote totem. He was a čipni shaman, one who had derived from a dream the power to turn himself into a bear. His son Čoliwai became an ordinary curing shaman (anču).

One shaman, Solo´lo, known to J.A., specialized in ghost scaring: this practice was called ane´tap:n w:p:´l. He was said to have learned this from dwarfs; he just sang. He was not [sic] paid for his services.

Another man got special gambling power from his father's cutting flint, which he kept as a talisman. This made him unbeatable (yam:´n:l).

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[91] Handbook, 516-517.

[92] Ibid., 514-515.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237 knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; 534 the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752 was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya (mushrooms)) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824 wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262 everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

[P. 416] Tachi Chukut

535 517 574 not always have words"; they probably were of the "hai ´ya hai ´ya" variety. Both sexes joined in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes [302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 616 At another time J.A. made brief reference to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iw·s). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. [766] [152] It is given as recorded. As mentioned above, the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^[i.e., pleasure dancers. - Analyst]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The primary reciprocity at Chunut and other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was between tribes, secondarily between moieties.
●616 The tribal reciprocity was like that of the foothills, and the tribes functioning in this
619 relationship likewise were called gi''i. J.A. remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and another in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served as gi'i to the Waksachi. On this last occasion moieties were not involved as neither tribe was moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuw·s (little ceremony), or one said of it teya'o wa'ha'l tsume'lnut (first cry going to wash).

769 When the time approached for the "big," or annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary ceremony called kiyu'w·s was held for the purpose of making plans.[106] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich chief assembled the people of each moiety. They all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid the other for this entertainment. The chiefs "each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye''i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called lakn·'n·ts, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[107] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia''a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu'iw·s) lasted six days. Each day for four days

[106] Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[107] Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called wːkči wːs and made the sides yːt ka 'yːt (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa 'osːl. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("mːm tulun. hi 'na ma hi 'nasu munːn").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might
524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hatːm) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all
535 night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oṭo 'ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not ṭːpni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o 'po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono 'lenːn. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identify them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

[616]

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie (the chief, Tipwatswat) that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet:ts, a great talker.

[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y ●616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

[P. 976] Wukchumni

624 756 [683] Shaman-killer.---The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi'auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.---There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of poŏas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s segregations of related animals (see below) had
616 no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the
619 terms tokelyuwič and nutuwič were known to both M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokelyu´wič. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dikao and da´tu idikao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
582 mony. Even then the grouping was not followed
[769] when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as families arrive they are received by winatums and
619 asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
616 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To ex-
619 emplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
616 follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či'čen (Rattlesnake); Ta'sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po'hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča'na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu'šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li'sːš (Owl); U'nun (Owl); Sa'pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye'mai and his brother, Po'sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati'sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

616 When J.B.'s attention was called to the
825 fact that his groupings, as given above, were aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe),
[756] he claimed he could not recall any participants in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

616 825 was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."

As a result of my questioning M.L. made a weak attempt to classify totem animals by moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du) as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as Nutuwich.

616 It is clear that the moiety was not a basic factor in Wukchumni social organization. On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation of a barely understood scheme to a particular situation. Its manifestation in the Shamans' Contest, in which participants were drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill [non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni is the result of the socially superficial co-mingling that occurred between hill and valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

616 825 In attempting to clarify the facts of moiety classification in Wukchumni culture, M.L. gave the following names of animals which she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi (relatives), i.e., of one lineage or family. The groups appear here in the order in which she gave them, and at first it seemed (as with group 1) that these might be a moiety classification; later it turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications, so to say. I think the first group is a mythological grouping referring to animal cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song reference.

616 825 192

1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
ṭu´´ud: rattlesnake
ñahõ´´õ: grizzly bear
ṭa´´ăwide´´ɨt: black-and-white woodpecker
du´hun: cinnamon bear
aho´´ot: weasel
sañsañwide´´ɨt: tree squirrel
po´´hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahõ´õ got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´´iyu: coyote
a´ḍja: fox
tu´ñed: wildcat
wahu´sɨt: cougar
iwe´yɨt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´´i: dove
so'o´no: pigeon
hɨ´mɨd: quail

No comment.

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825
192

4. ṭu'hi:t: eagle
u'wi:k: golden eagle
ṭa'nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi'tu: mouse
tumatu'mud: woodrat
sañsañwide''i:t: tree squirrel
aha''ot: weasel
po''hot: ground squirrel
he'nhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo'koi: elk
soi'yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe'si:p: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wo'kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.---The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša'm (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. [231] While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

231 Pets.---Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234] This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the poša'm probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846 infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the 843 sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 854 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177 is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.); the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, tut it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

[280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

524 were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wač (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wič:´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wukchumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

● 616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 825 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages, were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´h:l: eagle
ǒ´lǒ´i: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukob:č, Western Mono)
ţuna´o: badger
ti´či: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wih: š:t: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

l:m:k: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´´ušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahõ´´õ: bear (bi´ow:ši [sic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ţe´´el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 625 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother, who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Mañtinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

● 616 648 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'1), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say (presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing) because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it (informants quite uncertain). On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni ˜a); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

1: Gayton E-8 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29

624 An official speaker was called di''e'le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chunut pine'ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

●616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation [43] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far 616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not 825 recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo'hɨ:l: eagle
naho''o: grizzly bear
iwe'yɨ:t: long tail cat[18]
hoṭs: buzzard
ka'nkas: crow
o'i'o'i': roadrunner
hu'šu: coyote
hu'nhoṭ: weasel
lɨ'mɨk: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di'kwi'lɨṭs: fisher (or martin)
ta'tčai: mudhen[19]
la'la: goose
oi''ɨk: blackbird
ma'o: tree (grey?) squirrel
hoi: deer
ki'sɨn: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɨṭs: condor
tono'hop: black bear
wehu'šɨt: cougar
ho'toi: raven
upye''i: dove
to'ñol: wildcat
so'hup: "chicken" hawk
te'pɨš: beaver
šo''šo': kingfisher
wa'twat: duck
šɨ'čɨl: ground squirrel
soi'yal: antelope
o'čoč: magpie
ti'pɨn: acorns

[18] Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iwey:t, colloquially known as wolf.

[19] P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20] Calendrinia.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 149 b] Choiwimmi

BURIAL

763 If it were thought a man would die within
●616 a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the
764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´c·m) had
767 dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 The story of the man who followed his
773 wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of
302 hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier
[778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun-
[683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream
787 (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was
276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en´t·m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

[P. 151 a] Choinimni

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ʔi ʔpni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi ʔte luni ʔša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent
● [616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ʔša)
535 lasted for a six-day week called ču ʔlipi laka ʔn. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

[P. 151b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on the morning of the sixth day, the Huhuna Dance 769 in the afternoon, after which the usual games 535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was 769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as ● 616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest 756 (hé·šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest 789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Puš·l·l·n and Kapl·l·n are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyeš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "h^{x}! h^{x}! h^{x}!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kapl·l·n.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha·na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta·w·ts nao·ša, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[Lic. of the mourning ceremony. - Analyst]

MOIETIES

616 The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, which does not agree with more reliable information from the neighboring Kechayi.

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825

Tokelyuwich, west

to ʻhːl: eagle
wahe ʻšut: cougar
a ʻluwets: crow [blackbird?]
ho ʻtoi: raven
humi ʻx: jackrabbit
na ʻčoč: rattlesnake
te ʻʼːl: rattlesnake, Gashowu
ko·lonki ʻ: king snake
oi ʻu ʻi: roadrunner
tono ʻl: a large, red, wildcat
te ʻpok: beaver
u ʻʼwok: osprey (?), a diving bird, white head, "catches fish all the time"
wa ʻhat: crane
ši ʻkol: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi ʻʼina: horned owl
po ʻhiyon: Cooper's hawk
naho ʻʼo: bear
čai ʻčai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope ʻl: gopher snake
koto ʻnːč: gopher snake, Gashowu
o ʻčoč: magpie
upla·li ʻ: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha ʻʼːt: otter
šo ʻkšok: kingfisher
če ʻha: dog
hota: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

756 Persons who wanted supernatural power (tː ʻpni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana ʻts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te ʻʼis; B.W. claimed a ʻhtu was the Gashowu word.

who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green (black in earlier times?), and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[34] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɨn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´hai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɨ´nɨl	18. mu´nčum
6. čo´lɨpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɨn	20. ponoi te´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi teyao yɛt
9. no´nɨp	22. ponoi teyao ponoi
10. te´yao	23. ponoi teyao so´pɨn,
11. yɛ´čam	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi´op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

Shinny.--This game (ko´nɨč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[34] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 [361] The chief (ti'ya) functioned as among the Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house 622 given a special location. He "was the richest 556 man, every one had to pay him at a mourning ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief 622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell 554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

622 Feasts or parties, like those given by chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by 557 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating ● [616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

622 The position of chief passed from brother to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu'i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s [551] father's brother, Gaida'na, was chief. After him came Huhutu'tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

622 Čo ´k:t, Nutuwich, and his wife, Č:nk: ´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate ´':č (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate':č was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] party," the yate':č "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko ´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki ´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general question.

616
825

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to ´x:l: eagle	po ´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu ´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya ´y:l: falcon[58]
upla ´li: dove	ho ´its: buzzard
a ´luwut: crow	hi ´hi· ´na: horned owl
ho ´toi: raven[59]	so· ´tot: white owl
u ´i'ui: roadrunner	'o č'oč: magpie
wa ´twat: duck	hu ´mnul: quail
bučo ´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai ''ṭai': blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a 'luwut.

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616 ulu·´ju:
meadow lark
825 ča´pit:´tna:
kingbird
wihe´š:t:
cougar
ki·´či:
raccoon
te´p:š:
beaver
xu´mix:
jackrabbit
te´u:
cottontail rabbit
ši´tx:l:
ground squirrel
homu´ča:
wood rat
te´´el:
rattlesnake
ta·la´tai:
lizard
ta´nai´ew:ts:
grasshopper
pu´tus:
"round" acorns
e´š:n:
a "mountain" acorn
te´p:n:
acorn mush
li´m:n:
acorn gruel
a´ptu:
manzanita berries or cider
taxa´ti:
sourberries
ča´n:t:
seeds from a blue flower
xe´l:s:
a seed

naho´´o:
bear
hoi:
deer
kawai´yu:
horse (Sp. caballo)
hu´´ušu:
coyote
a´oja:
fox
čo´i:
skunk (large)
če´ču:
California spotted skunk
ma´o:
grey squirrel
gai´h:t:
salmon
ma´m:l:
blackberries
kisi´´in:
small black seed

616 The functioning of the moiety division is not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage totem which is recognized as a family symbol, even for that of a chief: all moiety animals are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific functionings are given under headings dealing with those situations in which they operate, such as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of behavior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly
616 formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each
262 moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety animal or vegetable food would make one ill, hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61] Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were eaten by members of that moiety. On the other hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting, could not partake of the first deer he had killed but could eat the meat from some other
616 (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were [552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

Redemption of totem animals.--When an 616 eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people 825 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which 237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´p:t, the paternal grand- [231] father of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´h:p (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čip:t received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear- [301] killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´y:l) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62]Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 Acorns.---The Nutuwich men knocked down all
222 the acorns, which were gathered and stored,
616 as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.---In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 Salmon.---When the Pleiades were on the
616 western horizon at dusk it was time to watch
796 for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

"all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Meanwhile the Tokelyuwich got out their "new" acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ič) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken to him." The deer were then cut up, the head roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

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After the birth occurred, the mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɨn) for two months.

The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clamshell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

When the baby was born its paternal grandfather brought the first cradle (bi´ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɨ´lɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

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766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
● 616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
756 members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a
764 shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die. Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
551 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a
422 hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
carried hand feathers (son·l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
● [616] E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.---This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil·t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots
616 scattered over it and three horizontal white stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.---This dance was called no´·n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h·l and Te´e´wus, had power from Bear (noho´·n ṭ·pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

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535 796 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Gohol and another Bear dancer named Jo'naš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on [237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not 302] used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša'načl) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and 796 frightened people. They turned into bears as 535 they danced, but Čokonok's daughter, who some- 789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohol turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'č, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.---At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the 522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish per- ● 616 formance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, [302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body [786] "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.---E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo'niu. The 789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, 756 however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half 787 the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.---This E.M. saw Čokonok do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.---A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wakchiumi Beaver Dance.

around" before falling unconscious. Some persons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week, but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʌn) diet for twelve days.

Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni ˇša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. *Every morning and evening the mourners* went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´ow:č ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna (guksai), Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character (Gugusia) was dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M. could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe'biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya'hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty (epla'oša) was
783 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[618] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

795 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
669 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

[177] The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance; abbreviatedly called su'yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo''oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Poagisa were gi''i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

[P. 175b] Kechayi; Chuckchansi.

796 668 [798] which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there

103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain

131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River

kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)

nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 131 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

[152 186]

166 222 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

[P. 1969] Chuckchansi

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [616] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 Parent-in-law tabu.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

624 here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

● 616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 825 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[553] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

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[130] It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. -- A.H.G.

[P. 1990] Chulkchausi

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825
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Informant	Nutunus	Toxilewis
N.W.	coyote, "because he lives up in the mountains" eagle bear	bluejay, "he lives down in the valley"
S.B	eagle coyote	bluejay bear
J.R.	coyote deer	eagle bear bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant	Nutunus	Toxilewis
N.W.	Nancy Wyatt Mike Wyatt Nancy's father	Nancy Wyatt Susie Brown Chicago Dick
S.B.	Mike Wyatt	
J.R.	Jack Roan	

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 199 b] Chukchansi

616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal (to choose sides ?). In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 796 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.---When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nič); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y

Totem	Dream helper
613 Dove	---
Eagle	---
619 Dove	---
Eagle	---
776 Eagle	---
778 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social divi- 616
sion. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically [611]
associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and [184]
Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle. Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote [illegible] back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only [illegible] for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiuuta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games.

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things.

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off:

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp.

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes."

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono.

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment.

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.)

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxtaposition of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name.

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[6] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered.

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing.

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Wakaachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection.

[6] See genealogies, Appendix.

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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their
683 chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[80] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

● 616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[81] In this region the moiety organization
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[80] Sam Garfield. [81] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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616 622 572 756

prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

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The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

619 648

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans [614] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn [577] those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the social organization of the Indians of South Central California. The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions.

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada.

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the

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101 121 San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 171 The principal facts concerning social organization among the tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 551 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

601 171 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

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with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker.

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses.

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci.

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name.

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171 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem,"
C16 which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no con-
551 nection with the personal name.

Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated
616 with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and
825 quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.
171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Cere-
616 monial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry,
616 was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.
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Doubtless other tribes will prove to have a similar division of the chieftainship.

An organization, which will perhaps prove to be on a moiety basis, is reported by Dr. J. Alden Mason among the Salinan Indians of Monterey County. A bear and a deer "totem" are mentioned.[1] Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the chief animal of the land moiety, the deer of the water moiety. It seems quite probable that a continuation of Dr. Mason's investigations among the Salinan will show that the bear and deer "totems" really stand for moieties, which may prove to be similar to those of the Tachi Yokuts, who were the closest neighbors of the Salinan on the east.

Mr. J. P. Harrington for some time past has been investigating the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region. The details of Chumash social organization will perhaps prove to be quite similar to those of the Yokuts tribes, mentioned in the present paper, who lived to the northeast of the Chumash region.

The next task is to extend the survey to the Washo and the Southern Maidu in the north and, if results among these stocks warrant it, also to the Southern Wintun. The examination of the Lake Miwok will perhaps prove instructive as to the origin of the moiety institution among the Sierra Miwok. The remnants of the Plains Miwok and of the Costanoan stock have so far yielded no positive results as to a clan or moiety organization. There are still other informants to be examined, however. In the south the Mono living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada south of the San Joaquin River have yet to be visited, as have also the other Yokuts tribes not already mentioned. Information obtained from the Tachi Yokuts indicates that at least the following Yokuts tribes inhabiting the San Joaquin Valley probably had an organization akin to that of the Tachi: Chunut, Nutununtu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The elucidation of the relations between the type of social organization found in South Central California and the type of organization found among the Luiseño, the Mohave, and the Pima, all tribes possessing clans, is one of the ultimate aims of

[1] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., x, 189, 1912.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case: the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted